

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00 SAJ-01

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R 161730Z APR 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1253

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 2091

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAG: PFOR, NATO, UR

SUBJECT: THE SOVIET CONCEPT OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE"

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

REF: A. STATE 085112 (NOTAL)

B. USNATO 2017

C. USNATO A-66

D. USNATO A-59

1. AT APRIL 15 MEETING, POLACDS COMMISSIONED INTERNATIONAL STAFF TO DRAFT A SHORT (ONE AND ONE HALF PAGE) ANALYSIS OF THE SOVIET CONCEPT OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE." IS PAPER WILL DRAW ON NATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS (SEE REFS B, C, AND D AND PARA 6 BELOW).

2. NETHERLANDS REP (HORAK) CIRCULATED A DUTCH ANALYSIS OF THE "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" CONCEPT, THE MAIN THEME OF WHICH WAS THAT RECENT SOVIET USAGE OF THE TERM CONTAINS NOTHING BASICALLY NEW AND THAT
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THE WEST SHOULD ITSELF AVOID USING THE TERM. FRENCH REP (BEAUCHATUAD) SAID HIS AUTHORITIES AGREE WITH THE NETHERLANDS' VIEW AND BELIEVE THAT THE FORMULATION ON PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE CONTAINED IN THE FEBRUARY 17 UK-SOVIET COMMUNIQUE ON PRIME MINISTER WILSON'S

MOSCOW VISIT REPRESENTED NO SOVIET CONCESSIONS.

3. U.S. REP (LEDOGAR) SAID HE HOPED U.S. COULD CONTRIBUTE THOUGHTS ON PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE SUBJECT IN TIME FOR APRIL 22 POLADS.

4. COMMENT: AS IT IS DOUBTFUL IS WILL BE ABLE TO PRODUCE A DRAFT BEFORE APRIL 22 POLADS, A U.S. CONTRIBUTION BY THAT DATE WOULD BE TIMELY AND USEFUL. (REF A).

5. REQUEST GUIDANCE.

6. FOLLOWING IS INFORMAL MISSION TRANSLATION (FROM FRENCH-LANGUAGE ORIGINAL) OF NETHERLANDS ANALYSIS OF SOVIET CONCEPT OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE.

BEGIN TEXT

IN VIEW OF THE DISCUSSION THAT THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE PLANS TO DEVOTE TO THE NOTION OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION HAS BROUGHT TOGETHER SEVERAL FACTS WHICH COULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE DRAFTING OF AN EVENTUAL REPORT.

1. THE TERM PEACEFUL CO/EXISTENCE HAS BEEN FREQUENTLY USED BY THE SOVIETS SINCE 1956 WHEN THEY WANT TO DEFINE THEIR FOREIGN POLICY. WE WILL LEAVE TO THE KREMLINOLOGISTS AND HISTORIANS THE TASK OF FINDING THE ORIGIN OF THE TERM, WHICH WAS ALREADY USED DURING LENIN'S TIME. WE WILL SIMPLY NOTE THAT THIS CONCEPT HAS ACQUIRED CERTAIN NOTORIETY WITH THE USE MADE OF IT BY FIRST KHRUSHCHEV AND LATER BREZHNEV.

2. ONE OF THE FIRST OCCASIONS (BUT NOT THE LAST) ON WHICH KHRUSHCHEV OFFICIALLY USED THE TERM PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE WAS THE 20TH PARTY CONGRESS WHERE HE GAVE A LONG SPEECH ON FEBRUARY 14, 1956 (NOTE: THIS WAS AN OFFICIAL PUBLISHED SPEECH, NOT THE FAMOUS SECRET SPEECH ON STALIN OF CONFIDENTIAL

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FEBRUARY 24-25). IN THIS SPEECH, HE DEFINED THE PARTY'S OBJECTIVES IN FOREIGN POLICY AS:

"FIRMLY FOLLOW THE LENINIST POLICY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AMONG STATES INDEPENDENT OF THEIR SOCIAL ORDER. TO WORK ACTIVELY FOR THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF PEOPLES, FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CONFIDENCE AMONG STATES AND FOR THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE PRESENT LESSENING OF INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS INTO A DURABLE PEACE."

3. KHRUSHCHEV FURTHER EXPLAINED THE NOTION OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IN AN OCTOBER 1959 ARTICLE IN THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE "FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

"IN THE SIMPLEST EXPRESSION IT SIGNIFIES THE REPUDIATION OF WAR AS A MEANS OF SOLVING CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES. HOWEVER, THIS DOES NOT COVER THE ENTIRE CONCEPT OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. APART FROM THE COMMITMENT TO NON-AGGRESSION, IT ALSO PRESUPPOSES AN OBLIGATION ON THE PART OF ALL STATES TO DESIST FROM VIOLATING EACH OTHER'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND SOVVEREIGNTY IN ANY FORM, AND UNDER ANY PRETEXT WHATSOEVER. THE PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE SIGNIFIES A RENUNCIATION OF INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES WITH THE OBJECT OF ALTERING THEIR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT OR MODE OF LIFE OR FOR ANY OTHER MOTIVES. THE DOCTRINE OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE ALSO PRESUPPOSES THAT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN COUNTRIES ARE BASED UPON COMPLETE EQUALITY OF THE PARTIES CONCERNED, AND ON MUTUAL BENEFIT".

IN ADDITION, PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE PRESUPPOSES THE ELIMINATION OF ALL BARRIERS TO COMMERCE, BUT THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE LOSES NONE OF ITS INTENSITY:

"HOW CAN THERE BE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE WITH THE SOVIET UNION IF IT FIGHTS FOR COMMUNISM? PEOPLE WHO TREAT THE QUESTION IN THIS WAY CONFUSE MATTERS, WILLFULLY OR NOT, BUT CONFUSING THE PROBLEMS OF IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE WITH THE QUESTION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES."

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 2091

4. SINCE THEN, THE TERM PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE HAS BEEN A PERMANENT FEATURE OF SOVIET OFFICIAL JARGON. ONE FINDS IT AGAIN IN CHAPTER VIII OF THE PARTY PROGRAM ADOPTED AT THE 22ND PARTY CONGRESS IN OCTOBER 19

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AND LATER IN NUMEROUS STATEMENTS BY PARTY AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS. THE BASIC IDEA REMAINS UNCHANGED. PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IS, AS ALSO SET FORTH

IN THE PARTY PROGRAM OF 1961, A SPECIFIC FORM OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE. PERHAPS THE clearest FORMULATION OF THIS CONCEPT WAS GIVEN BY VALERIY YEGOROV OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST INSTITUTE, A BODY SUBORDINATE TO THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE. IN A BOOK PUBLISHED IN 1973 IN THE GDR IN GERMAN TRANSLATION UNDER THE TITLE "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND REVOLUTIONARY PROCESSES", HE SAID (PAGE 216); "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE INCLUDES THE STRUGGLE OF THE TWO SYSTEMS BUT NEVERTHELESS EXCLUDES WAR BETWEEN THEM."

5. IT WOULD BE ERRONEOUS TO BELIEVE THAT THE NOTION OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE HAS BEEN MODIFIED OVER THE YEARS. THE FORMULATION ACCEPTED

FOR THE JOINT UK-SOVIET COMMUNIQUE OF FEBRUARY 17, 1975 DOES NOT CHANGE
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WHAT KHRUSHCHEV WAS ALREADY SAYING IN 1956 AND IN 1959. LET US QUOTE THE COMMUNIQUE:

THEY DECLARED THEIR ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE WHICH MEANS LONG-TERM, FRUITFUL AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COOPERATION BETWEEN STATES, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS, AND ON THE BASIS OF FULL EQUALITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT."

THE PHRASE "IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS" IS NOT A NEW ELEMENT. IT COMES FROM VOLUME 3 (1970-1972) OF THE COLLECTED SPEECHES OF BREZHNEV (L.S. BREZHNEV, LENINSKIE DOKLADY, MOSCOW 1972) WHICH, ACCORDING TO THE INDEX, CONTAINS 19 MENTIONS OF THE TERM PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE.

6. THE TERM PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IS AND REMAINS THEREFORE A SPECIFICALLY SOVIET CONCEPT, DEALING EXCLUSIVELY WITH RELATIONS AMONG STATES BUT ALSO IMPLYING A FORM OF CONTINUED CLASS STRUGGLE. THE SOVIET UNION HAS NEVER CONCEALED THIS ELEMENT OF CLASS STRUGGLE. ONE READS FOR EXAMPLE IN THE CHAPTER ON PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE OF THE "DIPLOMATIC DICTIONARY" PUBLISHED IN MOSCOW IN 1971:

"THE POLICY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE CONCERNS RELATIONS AMONG STATES. IT DOES NOT RELATE TO THE INTERNAL SITUATIONS WITHIN STATES AND DOES NOT CONCERN THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE WHICH THE WORKING CLASS IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES IS UNDERTAKING FOR SOCIALISM."

SINCE THERE ALREADY EXISTS SUCH A DEFINITION OF THE CONCEPT OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, THIS CONCEPT IS NATURALLY NOT EXPLAINED EACH TIME BY ITS USERS. IT THUS DOES NOT SEEM DESIRABLE FOR THE

WESTERN COUNTRIES TO USE THIS SOVIET TERM. SOVIET PROVESSOR M.S.
VOSLENSKY, MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, WROTE IN THE "OST-
EUROPA" OF NOVEMBER 1973 (THUS FOR WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION):

" THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE USSR AND FINLAND ARE OFTEN
CITED IN THE SOVIET UNION AS A GOOD EXAMPLE OF PEACEFUL
COEXISTENCE BETWEEN A SOCIALIST AND A CAPITALIST STATE."

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